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XI. — *The Clausula and the Higher Criticism*

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MODERN interest in the rhythms employed by Greek and Latin writers of prose covers as a whole a period of scarcely more than a score of years. But the subject was quickly recognized as a fruitful ground of investigation, and the metrical clausula was at once welcomed as furnishing a new and valuable criterion, not only for the uses of textual emendation, but also for the settlement of many questions that come within the scope of the higher criticism. This aspect of the newly awakened interest was pointed out and exemplified by Wilhelm Meyer in his epoch-making work which appeared in 1893¹, and stress has since been laid upon it by E. Norden in a discussion of the subject of prose rhythm in the *Antike Kunstprosa*²; and as a brilliant example of what can be accomplished by the application of the criterion, as furnished by the particular use of the clausula by any given author, to investigations such as are concerned with matters of composition, historical sources, etc., there has frequently been cited a paper which appeared in the *Rheinisches Museum*, LVII (1902), entitled "Satzschlussstudien zur Historia Augusta," by the very promising but unfortunately short-lived young German scholar, Paul v. Winterfeld.

In that article the writer applies the new criterion in attempting to solve the question of composition of the first biography of the collection of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, that of Hadrian, and attempts to determine to what extent its author, called Aelius Spartianus in the manuscripts, made direct use of an Autobiography of Hadrian, to whose composition testimony is given in the *Vita* itself. That is, finding certain parts of the narrative which, he thinks, exhibit no deliberate use of the clausula, in the midst of a text in

¹ First published in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeiger*; the *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, 258 ff.

² See II² (1909), Anh. 2, 953.

general characterized by the regular presence of this rhetorical ornament, he infers that the rhythmless portions are derived from a different source from the rest of the text — are indeed from the hand of the Emperor himself. And he proceeds to point out the exact sections which, he judges not only from their lack of rhythmical adornment but also from their content, were taken directly from the Autobiography and incorporated bodily, in their original form, into material drawn from some entirely different source. This, in agreement with H. Peter and a considerable number of other scholars, he believed to be the Marius Maximus who is frequently mentioned by all the six writers to whom individual names are given in the Mss. of the *Historia Augusta*. Parts, on the other hand, in which the content seems to point to the Autobiography as their source, but in which undeniable clausulae appear, he assumes to have been rewritten, cast in the same rhetorical mold as the rest of the narrative — “umstilisiert” — by Spartianus.

This seems to furnish a very neat problem, with very clear-cut results, which have been accepted as valid and have played no slight part in some of the recent publications on the historical sources of the *Vita* of Hadrian.³ But first of all, such an hypothesis assumes that this Emperor, particularly distinguished as he was for his literary interests, and making considerable pretension to literary production of his own, failed altogether to make use of the then prevalent and even quite stereotyped rhetorical device of the prose rhythm. Interesting and enlightening indeed it would be, could this assumption be tested by such actual evidence of a prose style as is furnished for his predecessor by the Trajan-Pliny correspondence. But this we unfortunately lack.⁴ Therefore the

³ As e.g. by E. Kornemann, *Kaiser Hadrian u. der letzte grosse Historiker von Rom*, Leipzig, 1906, 41, esp., and *passim*; cf. 8, n. 5.

⁴ The letter of Hadrian, cited by Vopiscus in the *Vita Saturnini*, 8, as having been taken from the work of Hadrian's libertus, Phlegon, can of course not be taken into consideration as furnishing such evidence. For, in regard in general to the letters and other documents which Vopiscus quotes, often even stating explicitly that he is giving them verbatim in their original form, however credible they may be in content as real sources, it is clear that their literary form at least

chief prerequisite upon which we must depend for solving this problem of composition correctly is a true and exact understanding of the kind of rhythm ordinarily employed by Spartianus. For, as has been remarked by E. Bickel in an exposition of the "Prosa-rhythmus" in Gercke and Norden's *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft* (I, 269), in the application of the clausula to matters of text-criticism, above all the individual manner and literary peculiarity of each author must be carefully considered.

This necessity Winterfeld did not overlook, for in the introduction to his article he remarked: "Die Scriptores historiae Augustae wenden ihn [the Satzschluss] alle an; freilich wohl nicht ohne gewisse individuelle Eigenheiten, die noch näher festzustellen werden." But, he continued, "Für uns genügt hier zu wissen, dass auch Spartian *durchaus* den *metrischen* Satzschluss schreibt." This is the important thing to notice (the italics are mine), that Winterfeld conceived the clausulae of Spartianus to be metrical, *i.e.* quantitative, and seems to have entertained no other conception of them as possible.

It is indeed not difficult to see how one writing at that time could have such a point of view. For when this article appeared and sent a ripple of approval through the ranks of German scholars, but little of the detailed investigation into the individual peculiarities exhibited by Latin writers of various periods, in respect to their use of the clausula, had yet been made, such as in recent years has yielded a bountiful crop of monographs, appearing chiefly in the programs and dissertations of the various German universities. Wolff's important study of the Ciceronian clausula, practically a pioneer in the series of special investigations which we now possess, had appeared in the previous year, 1901, in a Supplement of the *Jahrbuch für klassische Philologie*. To be sure, Meyer had published, in his work of 1893 before alluded to, his discovery

is Vopiscus' own, as is shown particularly by the fact that the same use of rhythms appears in them which characterizes the body of the text in which they are inserted (see the writer's dissertation [cited below, n. 5], p. 5). Especially is this natural in the case of translation from a Greek original, as this letter of Hadrian obviously was (cf. Winterfeld, 555).

that since the fourth century, in Roman prose, as well as in Byzantine Greek prose, the accentual clausula had begun to dominate over the purely metrical or quantitative ending; and Winterfeld seems to have recognized some of Meyer's forms in the text of Spartianus. They are however the metrical, not the accentual rhythms, to which he alludes. And much less had any complete study of the kind of rhythms employed by any of the writers of the *Historia Augusta* been made, even by himself, if we may take literally his own words, quoted above, the writer's own dissertation on the clausulae of Vopiscus, published ten years later, being, as far as she is aware, the only effort in this field.⁵

So it seems certain that it was the Ciceronian metrical scheme which Winterfeld assumed as the criterion in his investigation, and through which he obtained results, momentous if true, for the question of the composition of the Biography of Hadrian. But surely if he could have had the benefit of the light that has recently been shed on the usage of the later Latin writers, his conclusions would have been far different. And it would seem that one who has made an exhaustive investigation into the usage of even one member of this particular group of writers, is in a better position to understand that of the rest — if, as Winterfeld assumed, they do differ individually. Therefore it is the chief purpose of this paper, starting from the results already obtained from the biographies of the latest of the group, to set forth the kind of prose rhythm employed by the other writers of the corpus, especially Spartianus, with the hope that the true point of view may be obtained from which to judge the validity of Winterfeld's conclusions as to the composition of the *Vita Hadriani*.

In this extension of the investigation of the use of rhythm from one individual writer to others of the group, there seemed to be good ground for the hope that a harvest of criteria might be obtained for the settlement of some of the vexed questions of source and composition which have centered about

⁵ *De clausulis a Vopisco Syracusio scriptore historiae Augustae adhibitis*, Weimar, 1912.

this enigmatical group of writers, and engaged the attention of a very considerable number of scholars for the last two decades. For it is only natural to think that writers whose differences in manner of working and writing have placed beyond a doubt the disputed fact that the biographies did emanate from different individuals,⁶ must also show individual differences in their handling of this prevailing rhetorical device of the prose rhythm, and that these differences should prove sufficiently conspicuous to render noteworthy assistance in this particular field of the higher criticism.⁷ Therefore, as that member of the group had first been chosen who is the most distinguished for an ornate rhetorical style, attention was next turned to the one who has been generally recognized as most markedly plain in style, namely Spartianus.⁸ But the wider outlook thus obtained soon caused a change of view in regard to one important particular of the conclusions obtained from the study of Vopiscus alone; and this it will be necessary to present before proceeding to the analysis of the text of the biography of Hadrian.

In the former study the attempt was made to trace the modifications through which, in the text of Vopiscus, the purely metrical Ciceronian clausula passed, under the influence of the growing dominance of accent over metrical ictus, leading first to the production of forms in which quantity was disregarded in syllables not having the ictus, then disregarded even under the ictus in the base of clausulae otherwise quantitative, till finally forms appear in which quantity seems to play no part at all. The working basis used was the well-known scheme of Zielinski, as exemplified in the clausulae of Cicero,⁹ wherein a cretic base is followed by a single trochee in the cadence to make the first form, increasing by half a trochee succes-

⁶ As remarked by F. Leo, *Die griechisch-römische Biographie*, 302.

⁷ See the foreword to the writer's dissertation, cited above.

⁸ *E.g.* cf. E. Klebs in *Rhein. Mus.* XLVII (1892), 19: "Die Unterschiede (among the seven so-called Panegyrici Latini) sind vielleicht nicht einmal so merkbar, wie zwischen der trockenen Sammlung von Auszügen in der Vita Hadriani und der rhetorisch geputzten Vita Probi."

⁹ As set forth in "Das Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden," *Philologus*, *Suppl.* IX (1904).

sively in the second, third, and fourth forms, etc., with certain substitutions in the cretic base and the resolution of accented long syllables more or less freely admitted. Throughout as conservative a position as possible was maintained, the encroachment of non-quantitative forms being admitted only where no possible metrical one could be discerned in those positions which, according to the prevailing custom of the author, are regularly adorned with rhythms. For this reason resource had to be taken in some cases to the rarer long forms, such as were made use of only occasionally even by writers of the Ciceronian period, who confined themselves in a large percentage to the first three forms.

Now it was long since pointed out by Norden (II, 951) that all three shorter forms of Zielinski find their parallels in the accentual or *cursus* forms of the later Latin.¹⁰ And a kind of transitional usage has been recognized in which purely accentual forms occur, mingled with others still entirely quantitative or largely so, to which the convenient name of *cursus mixtus* has been given. The extent to which such a mixed style prevailed in writers from the fourth century on, and the early date at which it can be detected in the more colloquial writers, or the more colloquial parts of writers, of even the classical period, has been interestingly discussed by Professor A. C. Clark of Queen's College, Oxford, in a paper read to the Oxford Philological Society, February 10, 1910, entitled "The *Cursus* in Mediaeval and Vulgar Latin." And in a review of the writer's dissertation in the *Classical Review*

¹⁰ *Cursus* is the mediaeval name for the rhythmical ending in prose, while the ancient name was *clausula* (see Norden, *l.c.*, 959). In modern usage the term *cursus* is used for accentual forms only, while there seems to be considerable variation in the application of the word *clausula*. As distinguished from the *cursus*, it refers to metrical endings only, though some writers use it in a larger sense to cover all rhythmical endings of either kind. But some writers limit still further its application to the ending of the whole sentence or its larger divisions, in distinction from the *kola* and *kommata*, while by others this distinction is waived, as is also in large measure that between strong and weak pauses. The term is, then, used for any distinct rhetorical pause, whether in strong or weak position. This is the practice followed in the present discussion, though in general *clausulae* are understood to be metrical or quantitative, while *cursus* are accentual.

for November, 1914, Professor Clark criticised the conservative attitude there adopted, in admitting the presence of merely "*vestigia cursus mixti*" in Vopiscus. For in his opinion, the mixed forms had been used to a far greater extent than had been recognized.

The conclusions of Professor Clark in regard to the existence of such early anticipations of the mediaeval cursus were of course well known to the writer while investigating the rhythmical scheme of Vopiscus. But the metrical basis having been once adopted, it was adhered to as long as it was at all tenable — too obstinately, as the event proved. For when the investigation was extended to Spartianus, it quickly became apparent — even before it was suggested by Professor Clark's criticism — that the conservative point of view was no longer tenable. For while in the elaborate and lengthy sentences of Vopiscus it had generally been possible, by reaching back farther into the sentence or kolon, to obtain a metrical, even though long and rare form, in the terser, plainer language of Spartianus, it was seldom found possible to do this. His kola in general are shorter than in the ornate style of Vopiscus, and his rhetorical pauses even more frequent. When this tendency to short forms, or rather the necessity for them, was once perceived, it quickly became apparent that where none of the shorter metrical forms could be discerned, accentual ones were regularly there to take their place. Then, with the metrical forms limited to Zielinski's first four, though free prosody was admitted in these as long as they in general kept to a metrical semblance, a classification was made of the remaining rhythmical positions according to the various forms of the cursus mixtus, such as Professor Clark has listed on p. 19 of his paper. It at once became perfectly clear that the clausulae of Spartianus, employed quite as constantly as by Vopiscus in even the minor divisions of the sentence, constitute a well-developed cursus mixtus, including with a proportionately large number of exactly quantitative forms and many freely transitional ones, a substantial body of purely accentual cursus. And trial excursions, next made into the text of the other four writers of the corpus, showed

similar conditions there. Finally, when the text of Vopiscus was reëxamined, it was obvious that, in the places where the long rare metrical clausulae had been resorted to, the writer beyond a doubt intended the short forms of the accentual cursus, which could in every case be identified at the close of the long clumsy ending; especially as, in many cases, the short form was in harmony accentually with short metrical endings occurring in balanced parts of the same sentence.

But it was still hard to give up the belief that two writers, so strikingly contrasted in literary style and spirit as are Vopiscus and Spartianus, must vary in some way in their use of this rhetorical device. And it seemed not unlikely that a consciously ornate writer would have kept more closely than the other to the forms of the ancient models. In fact some of the most self-conscious flights of rhetoric in Vopiscus do exhibit an almost unbroken succession of quantitative forms, while the plainer narrative passages are almost entirely accentual.¹¹ But when an exact count was made of considerable continuous portions of the text of the two writers respectively, there was found to be a surprising lack of diversity. Thirty-five pages of Vopiscus, covering his longest biography, that of Aurelian, yielded a total of 1397 clausulae, of which 502, or about 36 per cent, are pure accentual forms; while in a slightly shorter portion of the text of Spartianus, covering the first two biographies, those of Hadrian and Aelius Verus, out of a total of 1219, 457, or about 37 per cent, are regular cursus forms. So that the remark of Klebs (*l.c.* 15) in regard to a general sameness in style and diction, as well as in their treatment of their historical material, prevailing among all these six biographers, seems applicable alike to their use of the conventional ornament of prose rhythm. For it is evident that definite usage and a strong tradition emanating from the same fixed models had resulted in a practice that was almost as imperative as grammatical laws, and which only an independent genius, such as Tacitus, had the courage or the ability to vary or defy. And if the difference of usage

¹¹ *E.g.* cf. in the *Vita Aureliani*, the use of almost exclusively metrical clausulae in chap. 1, 1-4, with the predominance of accentual cursus in chap. 6, 1-2.

in this regard is so slight between the two writers of the group who are most strikingly unlike in manner of writing and literary style, it is obvious that an exact comparison of the other four would yield little or no distinctive result.

And yet this uniformity in use of the prose rhythm among the writers of the *Historia Augusta*, while discouraging for some of the uses of the higher criticism, is not without its value in confirming our conception of the criterion which we are to apply to the question of the composition of the biography of Hadrian. That is, Spartianus, like his five associate biographers, certainly made use of a *cursus mixtus*, in which approximately a third of the *clausulae* are of the purely accentual type. And we are surely now in a position to draw the correct conclusions as to the composition of his text, as Winterfeld a dozen years ago was not.

But before discussing details of Winterfeld's arguments, the fallacy of his prefatory remark in regard to the situation in Spartianus must first be pointed out, on which it can have no bearing, however true it may be in general. He cautions the reader against seeing what might seem to be evidence contradictory to his conclusions, in the occurrence of occasional *clausulae* in those parts which, he declares, are really rhythmless. For, he says, even one who has never heard of *clausulae* occasionally unconsciously writes correct forms; so that one must not be surprised to find, even in the rhythmless parts of Spartianus, sporadic unintentional *clausulae*. And these he disregards as evidence, remarking in the more conspicuous instances of their occurrence, "die paar Ausnahmen beweisen nichts." But when we have once perceived that the scheme of Spartianus is a well-developed *cursus mixtus*, it is plain that these are not exceptions at all, but merely scattered quantitative forms, occurring in sentences all of whose other pauses happen to be marked with accentual *cursus*, the latter therefore remaining unrecognized by Winterfeld. This can be easily tested by an examination of the text of the opening chapters of the *Vita Hadriani*, which are appended, and in which is shown the way in which prose rhythm is actually employed there. It has seemed better,

for obvious reasons, to make the proportion of accentual to metrical forms apparent to the eye. Therefore the latter have been indicated by quantity marks, and the former by accents, while in parenthesis after each form its classification has been given, in terms of Zielinski's scheme for the metrical clausulae, and of Clark's for the accentual. All of the metrical forms, as well as the transitional ones, could of course be classified in terms of the cursus.

And if it can be shown that in the text of the biography there are no such breaks and rhythmless gaps as Winterfeld thought he discovered, his conclusion, based on this alleged discovery, also breaks down. So it is clear that even negative results from the application of the criterion of prose rhythm are of value in settling such questions as have here been raised. But while the main point at issue has, it seems, been adequately determined in this general way, it will perhaps not be without its usefulness to point out some of the inconsistencies in the details of the arguments used, and some of the weaknesses in the method applied. This will however be found easier to follow, if the text is first furnished.¹²

- 1 Origo imperatoris Hadriani uetústior a Picéntibus (4 δ) posterior ab Hispaniēnsibūs mănāt (1, 1), siquidem Hadria ortos maiores suos apud Italicam Scipionum tempóribus resedisse (3) in libris
- 2 uitae suae Hadrianus ipsē cōmmēmōrāt (1, 1³). Hadriano pater Aelius Hadrianus cognoménto Afer fuit (1²γ), consobrinus Traiani imp̄rātōris (1, 1), mater Domitia Paulina Gádibus órta (1 δ), soror Paulina núpta Serviáno (1²γ), úxor Sabína (1, γ), átavus Maryllínus (3 δ), qui primus in sua familia senator pópuli Románi fuit (3 tr).¹³
- 3 Natus est Romae viiii kl. Feb. Vespasiano septies et Tito
- 4 quíniues consúlibus (2 tr).¹³ Ac decimo aetatis anno pátre orbátus (1 γ) Vlpium Traianum praetorium tunc, consobrinum suum, qui postea imp̄rium ténuit (2 δ), et Caelium Attianum
- 5 equitem Romānūm tūtōrēs hábūit (iii, 1⁴). Imbutusque imp̄nsiūs Grāecis stúdiis (iii, 1⁴), ingenio eius sic ad ea declinante ut

¹² The numbering of the sections of Peter's text is kept for convenience of reference.

¹³ These are mixed forms like the corresponding metrical ones with epitrite in the base; cf. Clark, 7, 9, 23.

2 a nonnullis Græcūlūs dīcērētūr (III, 1), quinto decimo anno ad
 pátriam rēdit (1 δ) ac statim militiam inīit (2 δ), venandi usque
 2 ad reprehensiōnēm stūdiōsus (1, 1²). Quare a Traiano abdūctūs
 ā patrīā (II, 1) et pro filio hābitus (2 δ) nec multo post decemvir
 litibus iudicāndis deléctus (datus P) atque inde tribunus secun-
 3 dae Adiutricis legiōnis creátus (1 γ). Post hoc in inferiorem
 Moesiam translatus extrémis iam Domitiānī tēpōribūs (I, 1³).
 4 Ibi a mathematico quodam de futuro imperio dicitūr cōmpē-
 rissē (III, 1), quod a patruo magno Aelio Hadriano peritia caelēs-
 5 tiūm callēntē (1, 3) praedictum ēssē cōmpērērāt (1, 1³). Traiano
 a Nērvā ādōptātō (I, 1) ad gratulationem exercitūs missūs (I, 1)
 6 in Germaniam superiōrē trāslātus ēst (II, 1). Ex qua festi-
 nans ad Traianum ut primus nuntiārēt ēxcēssū Nērvāe (III, 1),
 a Serviāno, sororis víro (3), (qui et sumptibus et aere alieno eius
 prodito Traiani odium in eum móvit) (1 δ), diu detentus fracto-
 que consulte vehic(u)lo tardátus (1 γ) pedibus iter faciens eius-
 7 dem Serviani beneficiārīūm āntēvenit (III, 4). Fuitque in amōrē
 Traiāni (I, 1), nec tamen ei per paedagógos puerórum (1² γ), quos
 Traianus impēnsiūs diligēbāt (III, 1), Gallo fauente de-
 8 fuit. Quo quidem tempore cum sollicitus de imperatoris erga
 se iudicio Vergilianas sōrtēs cōnsülērēt (I, 1³),

* * * * * * * * * *

sors excidit quam alii ex Sibyllinis versibus ei provenissē dixē-
 9 rūt (I, 1). Habuit autem praesumptionem impērī¹⁴ mōx fūtūrī
 (III, 1) ex fano quoque Niceforii Iovis manāntē rēspōnsō (I, 1).
 10 quod Apollonius Syrus Platonicus líbris suis indidit (2² δ). De-
 nique statim suffragante Sura ad amicitiam Traiani pleniorē
 redit, nepte per sororem Traiani uxōrē āccēptā (I, 1) fauēntē Plō-
 tinā (I, 1), Traiano leuiter, ut Marius Maximus dicit, uolēnte (I, γ).

In section 1 of the opening chapter, it happens that the three strong pauses are all adorned with good metrical clausulae, so Winterfeld's inference is that while for content the Autobiography seems to have been used, the composition is of another than Hadrian. The three endings cited are all attributed to the commonest or first form, though, in view of the dominance of word accent, the second should be read as *cursus*

¹⁴ This is an example of Zielinski's "tonic" base; cf. the writer's diss., 65 ff., for frequent examples in Vopiscus.

velox, i.e. *tempóribus resedísse*, rather than metrically, *temporibús řesèdíssē*.

Section 2 is claimed entirely for the Autobiography, the evidence of form being interpreted as confirming that of content — “kaum ein Satzschluss correct.” One exception, which has exactly the form of *tempóribus resedísse* — though also read metrically, i.e. *atavús Mārýllínús*, — is disregarded as evidence since it does not constitute a pause. But a glance at the text above will show that each member in this list of the emperor's relationships, accompanied by an appositive or other descriptive phrase, is marked off by a rhythm, which therefore does constitute a rhetorical pause. Attention has already been called to similar series or enumerations in the text of Vopiscus, marked by the same hammering away of brief rhythms. And the clausula marking the end of the sentence, which Winterfeld refuses to recognize as such on the ground that it contains an iambus, “customary in only weak pauses,” should be read without any such violation of word-accent, as I have indicated above, n. 13. The whole section is therefore accentual, but not less illustrative of Spartianus' use of rhythm, and it is merely a matter of chance that only one quantitative form happens to occur there. As for the dissyllabic iambic ending, it is unlikely that any such was intended to be used, here or anywhere at this period, when the word-accent had come to have so much influence.

Likewise sections 3, 4, and 5, the critic says, were taken over bodily from the Autobiography, with the exception of one sentence: *ingenio eius sic ad ea inclinante ut a nonnullis Grăcŭlŭs dīcērētŭr*, which, both from its content and the fact that it closes with an undeniably good metrical clausula, can scarcely be attributed to the Emperor. But these seven lines of text contain at least five other marked pauses, of which three are adorned with common mixed forms and two with quantitative ones, which however contain substitutions and prosodical liberties which seem not to have been familiar modifications to Winterfeld, though Zielinski later recognized and tabulated them.

Again, the first section of chapter 2 is claimed for the

imperial authorship, since its closing words, *usque ad reprehensionē studiōsūs*, would be a defective clausula. But this is clearly a transitional form with disregard of the final length in the unaccented syllable of the base, or perhaps it is easier to consider it as a fair example of the accentual analogue of Cicero's famous *ēssē vidēātur*.¹⁵ And the first part of the section should not be ignored, for it contains two good examples of accentual cursus.

The second section is "sicher authentisch," for while two of its clausulae are judged correct, two are incorrect, and Hadrian is given the benefit of the doubt! But one of these "correct" forms, *iudicāndis dātus*, if accepted as the correct text, is, to be sure, a metrical second form, but ends with the iambic dissyllable, which in section 2, chapter 1 was not accepted in a strong pause. Is this pause weak enough to make it admissible here? But even if it was admissible to Winterfeld, such a violation of word-accent cannot be accepted in a *cursus mixtus*, whose very corner-stone is accent. The text has already been called in question on other grounds, and since the whole balance of the two double halves into which the sentence falls was obviously premeditated, it would seem imperative to emend the text by the substitution of some trisyllable for *datus*, e.g. *delectus*, as suggested by Peter.¹⁶ Thus we should have in the first half two rhythms of the second form, *abductūs à patriā* and *pro filio hābitus*, offset by two of the first form in the last half, *iudicāndis delectus* and *legiōnis creatus*. It is also, by the way, interesting to see Winterfeld regarding *legiōnis creatus* as a correct metrical clausula; for as such it is one of Meyer's "verschobener Kretiker," which are not recognized in Zielinski's scheme nor admitted by Norden (see II, 926). But it fits into the mixed scheme as a perfect cursus planus. It should further be noted that the hiatus in *filio hābitus*, which probably made it seem an impossible form to Winterfeld, is no stumbling-

¹⁵ See Clark, 19.

¹⁶ Haplography, to which the scribe of the codex Palatinus of the *S.H.A.* was especially prone, may well have given *dectus*, which might easily, through confusion with the open *a*, become *datus*.

block in the *cursus mixtus*, of which hiatus is a marked characteristic.

Section 4 is not from the Autobiography, being too obviously rhythimized, — with two good metrical forms, — and this evidence is confirmed by the attribution in the text of its content to rumor. But section 3, whose one sentence also ends metrically, ought not to have been ignored, as it was, for it also ends metrically.

Sections 5–8 are said to be authentic, that is of the Autobiography, since consisting of brief items of information, “ohne Satzschluss.” For of the four possible exceptions cited, two are said to “prove nothing,” because one is in a weak pause and one contains hiatus; and the other two would have to be interpreted as Meyer’s “altlateinische Kretiker,” of whose doubtful status Winterfeld is only too ready to take advantage, for if admitted they would introduce disturbing evidence for the conclusion sought. But section 5 contains not one only, but two “weak” pauses, both of which are adorned with good metrical forms, and hiatus no longer at this period constitutes an objection; while the *clausulae* classified by Meyer in his strange categories, which have been rejected by all later scholars, can now be explained metrically as transitional forms with disregarded length in the unaccented syllable of the base, *i.e.* *superiōrēm trānslātūs ēst* of the second, and *sōrtēs cōnsūlērēt* of the first form, or accentually as good examples of the *cursus tardus*.

But four “exceptions” are a good many, when the rest of the text, which Winterfeld says “widerstrebt hartnäckig,” is found to contain only two other *kola* which he would recognize as good pauses, and four *kommata* which he probably considered too weak to be taken into consideration. Furthermore, in the sentence in which the *paedagogi* are mentioned, section 7, he declares that the relative clause, which contains a *clausula* of the third form, is an interpolation into the part quoted from the Autobiography, as is also the closing sentence in section 8, after the citation from Vergil. In reality the whole passage reads, like the rest of Spartianus’ text, rhythmically throughout, with a mixture of quantitative

and metrical clausulae, which was no doubt not felt by their author as a mixture at all, since it had by this time probably become practically immaterial whether any remnants of quantity still persisted in rhythms so dominated by word-accent.

But not only were the conclusions arrived at by Winterfeld based on a misconception of the very criterion which he sought to apply, but the method itself appears in its application so arbitrary that it could, it would seem, arrive at almost any desired conclusion. At any rate, certainly in the light of our present understanding of Spartianus' actual rhythmical scheme, one cannot but believe that, however much he may have used the emperor's own composition as a source, interpolating into this material other matter from other sources, the literary form which the narrative, as it has come down to us in this corpus, finally took, is that which our author himself gave it; and that we have not here to do with a patchwork of citations of varying length from another's work, which he sometimes rewrote in his own style, but was at others "zu träge, auch nur die Consequenz des Citates zu ziehen und den Satz zu rhythmisiren." And the more probable theory of a continuous composition, based on various sources but given throughout the rhetorical style of its author, is confirmed by the test of the conventional rhythmical stamp of his day which he put upon it.